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by means of cultural diffusion, a given people were exposed to a given set of ethological constructs in the ethological make up of a neighboring people. Elements under such exposure do not always "take." And if they do take, they are likely to be transformed and refurbished according to the prevailing feeling in the receiving culture. An inner congruence exists within a culture at any point in time, an equilibrium between the various elements which compose it, such that, if any element is added or drops into oblivion, it reflects upon the total culture at that time. And if a single religious concept, myth figure, or fairy tale is accepted from without or independently evolved, the whole culture is to that extent modified. Children are brought up on these tales; parents' attitudes are modified in concordance with the current belief. They warn, shield, console, and threaten the young with the mythological and religious figures in mind. Fear and fantasy in the adult are communicated to the child in a thousand subtle ways, in the tone of voice in which a father speaks, in the roll of a mother's eye, or in the shiver that runs down her spine as she holds the child in her arms. There is a channeling of feeling which runs out of the realm of fantasy into that of reality, so that the whole culture expresses this feeling not only in the formation of the individuals who make it up, but in its ordering of day to day behavior, its method of economy, its patterned exchanges, and its ceremonial and secular ritual. Kardiner has stated this point as follows:

> The value of the whole genetic approach lies in its being able to show us how certain integrational systems come into being; and we made it our special concern to track down those systems we designated as projective, in contrast to those of taught or rational origin on the basis of which scientific systems are built. In every society studied we found evidences of these two systems. The empirical reality systems we found in the manipulation and making of tools, the knowledge of planting, and so forth; the projective systems in religion, folklore, and many other systems.
>
> These two types of mental process depend upon different orders of experience. The differentiating feature is not that one has an emotional constituent and the other not. Both have emotional components. Rational thinking is driven by curiosity and has such goals as mastery and utility. The emotional component of projective thinking is made up of all those affects which accompany human relations. In the systems built on a projective basis the conclusions drawn do not depend on any fixity in nature, but on sequences which are contingent on institutionalized practices conveyed by parents or other people in the environment of the growing child. Hence our interest in the genetic aspects. The experiential base of a projective system is generally forgotten; its only remains in the personality are to be found in the conditioned perceptions, meanings, affects, psychosomatic reactions, and behavior. It is a feature of such projective systems that they are capable of extension upon situations which have no actual resemblance to the experiences on which they were based. This may be called *symbolic extension*."
>
> " Kardiner, 1945, pp. 38-39.

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It is Kardiner's contention that from the early experiences in a given culture a "nuclear constellation" is laid down, which "creates an unconscious base from which any number of projective systems can arise."[11] Because he began with individual psychology and extended it to culture, Kardiner puts the setting of the projective system in what he calls the basic personality structure parallel to that which he would give a projective system in an individual. Projective systems are said to arise, as though in each member of the culture the same one arose anew, out of the psychodynamic forces which he points out. Actually, there is room for acceptance or rejection by the individual within the culture of the projective systems offered to him by his culture, for elaboration and denial within the limits set by the culture and by his individual personality as formed within that culture out of the original human material born into it.

Margaret Mead introduces the Witch theme in Balinese culture with explicit reference to parent child relations and to the reciprocal effect of these upon the myth figure [illegible] of the myth figure upon the parent child relations. She says:

> While the Balinese child [illegible] through this first period of responding with passion to his mother's [illegible] associated teasing . . . he is also the spectator of the drama in wh[illegible]nese express their feeling about such a mother-role. The Witch p[illegible] *jalonarang*, the definitive dramatic theme of Balinese parent-child relations, not only expresses the residue in the adults of what they experienced as children, but also is watched by children and shapes their reading of the experiences to which they are subjected daily. It colors the child's appreciation of his mother's behavior, and stylizes his attitude toward her.
>
> The plot of the play, which begins as a simple theatrical performance and usually ends in a series of violent trances with full religious paraphernalia of offerings and ritual, varies in detail from village to village, but is essentially uniform. The Witch is angry at a king because he or his son has rejected her daughter, or married her and then rejected her, or simply because the king has accused her of witchcraft. She summons her disciples—played by the most attractive little girls or by little boys dressed as little girls—and, dressed as an old hag, she schools them in witchcraft. They go forth and spread plague and disaster over the land. People are driven from their homes; babies are born and strangled by the witches and tossed back dead into the parents' laps; corpses fill the land. All of these horrors are in the broadest, slapdash comedy interspersed with exaggerated theatrical emotions. Then the king of the desolated country sends his ambassador, or he may come himself to fight the Witch, now no longer an old and infirm woman, but a masked supernatural being whose tongue is studded with flame, whose nails are many inches long, whose breasts are abhorrently hairy and pendulous, and whose teeth are tusks. Against her the emissary fails. He retires from the stage and is transformed into the Dragon (a two-man mask), who is as friendly and puppyish a beast as the Witch is terri-

[11] *Ibid*, p. 42.

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fying. The Dragon confronts the Witch and they hold altercations in ecclesiastical old Javanese. Followers of the Dragon, armed with krisses, enter and approach the Witch ready to attack her. But she waves her magic cloth—the cloth baby sling—and after each attack they crouch down before her, magically cowed. Finally they rush upon her in pairs, stabbing ineffectively at the Witch who has become a half-limp bundle in their tense arms. She is uninvolved and offers no resistance, but one by one they fall on the ground in deep trance, some limp, some rigid. From this trance they are aroused by the Dragon who claps his jaws over them, or by his priest sprinkling his holy water. Now, able to move again but not returned to normal consciousness, they move about in a somnambulistic state, turning their daggers which were powerless against the Witch, against their own breasts, fixing them against a spot which is said to itch unbearably. Thus symbolically they complete the cycle of the childhood trauma—approach to the mother, the rejection and the turn-in upon the self."[1]

Mead and Bateson have illustrated the two way relationship they see between the parent child behavior and the two great masked figures as projections of Mother image and Father image; especially on Plate 62 of *Balinese Character*, entitled "Parents: Witch and Dragon," six of Bateson's photographs juxtaposed show the characteristic behavior of the Rangda and Barong, and a witch-like mother holding her baby in the air, her eyes starting out of her head, her teeth exposed, and a protective father holding his baby. A photograph of the conflict between Witch and Dragon has the descriptive caption:

> . . . a scolding match in archaic language (*Kawi*). The gestures typical of this conflict are clearly shown—the Dragon expressing anger by sudden forward thrusts of his head, and the Witch stretching out her arm with all five fingers splayed and rigid, a gesture not of physical attack but rather oriented to make the opponent powerless."[2]

A series of juxtaposed movie films made by Bateson show up even more clearly parallels between parent child behavior, the stimulation and frustration of the child, leading to tantrum, and the stylization of the masked play, leading to the trance seizure which these authors see as the equivalent of the infantile tantrum.

But there is another aspect to the behavior of the Witch which deserves emphasis, and that is the character of Rangda as the personification of Fear. Probably the usual bogeys in cultures which bring up their children in the fear of them are scary, but they do not themselves act out the feeling. Dr. Mead has stated this aspect of Rangda as follows:

> The fascination which the figure of the Witch holds for the Balinese imagination can only be explained when it is recognized that the Witch is not

[1] Bateson and Mead, 1942, pp. 34-35.
[2] *Ibid*, p. 179.

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only a fear-inspiring figure, but that she is Fear. Her hands with their long menacing fingernails do not clutch and claw at her victims, although children who play at being witches do curl their hands in just such a gesture. But the Witch herself spreads her arms with palms out and her fingers flexed backward, in the gesture which the Balinese call *kapar*, a term which they apply to the sudden startled reaction of a man who falls from a tree. The Witch reconstitutes the figure of the mother, not only as the teasing, powerful, unsatisfying person who aroused one's emotions only to throw one back upon oneself, but also as the person who cried "Snake!" and "Wildcat!" and so drew the child to her bosom by a display of fear. Only when we see the Witch as herself afraid, as well as frightening, is it possible to explain her appeal and the pathos which surrounds her as she dances, hairy, forbidding, tusked, and alone, giving her occasional high eerie laugh.[84]

That the fear component in Balinese character structure should be projected onto a figure which itself plays fear is quite congruent with what has been called the narcissistic character of these people—the self-contained, somewhat aloof bearing in interpersonal relations and the concern with self, the tendency to turn own affect into artistic products, music and dance, rather than to be concerned with goals and mastery techniques or with affect oriented toward another person.

Interrogation of informants corroborated the hypothesis that fear and the teaching of fear were associated, even on a conscious level, more closely with the mother than with the father. For example, one informant said, "My father taught me not to say what I thought and not to believe what others said; my mother taught me, when I went to a strange village, to beware of eating any food." Further corroboration is given in the complacency and assurance with which the Balinese admits to fear, an outstanding fact in this culture which I noted a number of years ago in a first attempt to outline what I called "the Balinese temper."[85] For Europeans and Americans brought up to value courage and to be ashamed to fear, it was at first surprising to find a Balinese happily stating "Sing bani," "I do not dare," as if he expected approval for his lack of daring. Indeed, where mothers consistently frighten their young children, as Mead and Bateson have shown that the Balinese do, in order to teach them the right way to behave and how to avoid dangers in the outside world, a demonstration of one's awareness of danger would meet with maternal approval and, by extension, could be offered in later life as an aspect of one's character for which one could expect to be generally approved. Where, in our culture, parents speak of "putting the fear of God into him" when they want to make a good child,

[84] *Ibid*, pp. 35-36.
[85] Belo, 1935, p. 139.

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the Balinese mother smiles upon her son when she has taught him to say and feel "*Sing bani*," when she has taught him fear.

That this tie up between the mother and fear exists in Bali there can be no doubt. But that the Rangda should be construed as Mother Figure representative of the total feeling toward the mother, and that this substitution should be carried over into adulthood until the young man looks forward to marrying a girl who will turn into a witch, "marry a woman whose attitude toward human relations will be exactly that of his own mother,"[20] is a point of view with which this writer does not agree. Rangda serves only as a representation of the fear aspect of the Mother Figure. There is a split in the feeling toward the mother, the destructive, witchlike, devouring, and deathly side of her represented in the Rangda, which Mead and Bateson have stressed, and the loving, beautiful, food-giving aspect of the living woman.

Balinese women are famous the world over for their beauty, their grace, and their graciousness as people, and of this quality the women themselves do not seem unaware. The men, equally handsome and graceful, are appreciative of the gracious quality of the female and remark upon a pretty face, a beautiful breast, with connoisseurship such as they apply to the arts. Women who bear children are highly valued, and the importance of having issue is in this culture equal for the male and the female. Women cook the daily rice, which is holy. The making of the little rice goddess, Dewi Sri, at each harvest time from the first cut sheaf is apparently an Old Indonesian rite, representative of both the food giving and fertility aspects of the female. At New Year's time, before each house is hung a *lamak*, a palm leaf panel with cut out designs in highly stylized Old Indonesian patterns. On each panel, executed in a distinctive manner in each village, is a stylized tree, probably a male symbol, and a *tjili*, a lovely slender lady with triangular body and a circular headdress. This *tjili* figure has been identified with Dewi Sri, with the *dedari* (*widadari*, Sanskrit *vidya-dhari*), heavenly nymphs, in whose name the little girl trance dancers (*sang hyang dedari*) are invoked. A myriad of different forms among the offerings and the receptacles for the soul in post-mortuary ceremonies recall this graceful, somewhat infantile female figure. It seems that we are dealing here with a prototype of the feminine spirit figure from Old Indonesian times, brought down to us more or less intact in the *tjili* patterns and carried over, with necessary modifications, into the Hinduistic death ritual where needed. Covarrubias[21]

[20] Bateson and Mead, 1942, p. 36.

[21] Covarrubias, 1937, pp. 172-75, 177, 179 and 181.

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wards, is held up by somebody. The old priest begins to shake with a tremor. His eyes are open. He takes up a brazier and with growls pretends to bite the edge of it, at once makes a dance gesture with his left hand and arm, bringing the hand down with a flourish on his left knee. Shouts, "*Keraoeh*!" (meaning the gods have entered the entranced). His eyes are open. Then he sits, nodding. Toeroen leaps forward into the center of the circle, leaping on thighs, then falls backwards—unconscious. Ida Tereh's hands are still rigid, tremor in the right only. Ketjig (a man who is said to be possessed by a tiger) shouts, "Boo-hoo-ha! *Keraoeh*!" He falls over, cries, sits up again after three seconds, nods, talks mumblingly. Toeroen's thighs jig; a brazier is held before him and the smoke wafted towards him; he hurls himself backwards with a shout.

Here the Rangda mask was lifted and set upon the head of a man, Ida Njoman, who had previously wafted the smoke from a brazier towards it. He came into the center of the circle formed by the other trancers. My notes read:

Agitates hands up and down, shouting, then collapses as if unconscious. 1:22 A.M. His hands are held out from his body like those of Ida Tereh; his breathing, pants (heard through the mask at a distance of eight to ten feet), is loud; he has a tremor in the hands; as the tray is offered to him the tremor stops, but the hands are still held up. Ida Tereh also has his hands still rigid by his sides, with tremor. 1:27 A.M. Rangda cries out, "Wha-wha-wha!" a high pitched yowl. Then the mask is taken off, replaced on the shrine. The *gamelan* orchestra (which had been playing loudly) pauses.

The old priest calls for a live baby chick. A stir passes through the crowd as they say "*iber iber*" (chick), an offering which is eaten alive. Ida Tereh begins to talk, yowls, cries, as chick is brought him he puts his hands out to take it, eats the head (no particular disgust or relish noted). A woman gives him a leaf cup of *arak* which he drinks to wash it down. He cries again during this, before and after drinking. When he has drunk he falls backwards, and his hands again are extended, closer to his sides than before. He resumes this pose after doing anything, eating the chick or taking the *arak*, sitting, lying, or standing.

It is this type of behavior, highly patterned, stylistically shaped by the culture, oriented towards participation in the ritual even when the entranced is in the "disassociated" state, which is expressive on a deeper level of what I have called these "subjective Rangdas." Let us see now how the females, with their little gods, behaved in the trance on the same night.

The priests and special trance people were seated on the platform (*balé piasan*) for the second feast. One of the visiting priests called out, "*Alon alon widedariné*!" calling for the heavenly nymphs, who are the spirits of the little gods, to come forth. The girls who were to dance with them were

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wafted smoke towards hers three times and sat back relaxed and gave up her little god figure to Ketjig.

Margaret Mead distinguishes here the outstanding trance performers and sees in their differential behavior a greater or lesser degree of witchlike character in the female role. It is also quite clear that she sees in the little god figures something equivalent for the female to the kris for the male, something between a phallus and a baby. In her view, as in mine, there is an underlying principle of female fertility symbolically expressed in the little puppet-like figures. But the witchery, the threat, and the evil quality she sees surrounding this aspect of the ceremonial I tend to see rather in the Rangda manifestations and in the undifferentiated aspects of the Durga theme.

Sindoe, April 27, 1937 (*afternoon*). Let us go back now to the Barong and the part he and his followers played in this village on the second day of the three day festival with which we were dealing earlier. Prominent on this day were Ketjig, Toeroen (who stabs himself in the cheek), and Poetoe, one of the subjective Rangdas. The play began about five-thirty in the afternoon. Ketjig was prowling up and down the performance place outside the temple when the Barong began to play. A secondary Rangda, also masked, called Pendemprat, is here so powerful that it is said as soon as she turns around the kris dancers go into trance. The order of events was, then, first a dance of Barong opposite Raroeng (played by Toeroen), the Rangda's chief pupil. Then Rangda (played by Poetoe) was led out from the temple. Barong again danced opposite Raroeng. Then Barong retires; Raroeng tells Rangda she was beaten. Rangda, furious, dances her angry dance. Barong comes up, challenges Rangda; they dance their eternal enmity. Then the secondary Rangda, Pendemprat, is led out from the temple and stands, her back turned, facing away from the dance place. Barong and Rangda continue their dance, and the trancers gather at the other end of the space. There is a commotion—they go off too soon. They have to be held, forcibly restrained. But Ketjig is not one of the premature ones.

Pendemprat turns around. Seven men dash towards her and fall, among them Toeroen and a child. Ketjig is the first to dash the length of the place, fifty yards, and fall at her feet. His lips move; he pants; his eyes are closed. He lies with his arms extended, right arm bent at elbow, hands relaxed palms up.[4] The Barong approaches and stands over the men in trance. Ketjig's

[4] Dr. van Wulfften-Palthe published, in a paper on these subjects, a photograph of Ketjig in such a fit as an example of the *totstellreflex* (van Wulfften-Palthe, 1940).

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the girls with their arms entwined about each other, the boys often holding hands. Such a group of boys will arrange to sit down in a place immediately behind a group of girls, so that, as the press in the audience increases, they will be huddled more and more together. It would be unseemly to stroke or to caress a member of the opposite sex in public. But if a girl is so placed that she must lean against one's knee, or her shoulder touch one's shoulder and her sleepy head droop, who can find fault? In the dim light—for the stage is illumined by only one or two flickering oil lamps, and the audience is in almost complete obscurity—flirtation is favored. Occasionally a girl rises and leaves the audience, to be followed after a short interval by the youth who has been seated near her. One supposes that a rendezvous has been arranged for a few moments of stolen love in the surrounding darkness.

Development of Decorum

By the time boys and girls have fully matured, they must behave with the decorous composure proper for adults. A boy of fifteen who belonged to my household was sometimes guilty of acts of clumsiness or thoughtless irresponsibility. He broke a plate in the washing of it, or he quietly made away with half a jar of the master's jam. These misdemeanors I was apt to excuse on the grounds of his youth. But the mature men were more stern with him. "Among us," they said, "a boy of that age is considered already big. He may not behave like a small child." Very marked was the change which came in Tjamploen, a talented little dancing girl, as she passed adolescence. When I first knew her she was a wiry child of eleven or twelve, the points of her breasts barely beginning to show. At that age she was a little devil, nervous and full of life, wriggling about, always up to some prank or mischief. A gifted mimic, she would make fun of anyone or anything, and go off into hilarious laughter at her own jests, bending her slim body back and forth, slapping her thighs, or the shoulder of any person who happened to be near her. Two years later she had grown tall, and her breasts had rounded out. She was no longer eligible to dance in the group of three little *lègong* dancers of her village, although it was to a large extent her own talent which had made these dancers famous, so that they were in demand to play at festivals in the surrounding district. Tjamploen trained a new set of six-year-old dancers for her village. Then she was engaged by various other villages within a radius of

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ten or fifteen miles to train their dancers. The fact of her growing up was forcibly impressed upon her by the change in her social function. She began to behave with dignity: to carry herself decorously, to sit down carefully with both legs to one side, not sprawling anywhere, to speak when she was spoken to, to keep upon her face an habitual expression of composure. As she learned manners, she lost a great deal of the vivid spontaneous charm of her personality. But in restraining her wild ways, she acquired a new charm, that of a demure and gracious feminine creature. When still another year had passed (which would make her about fourteen or fifteen), I saw her dance again, demonstrating before a new pupil. By this time the restraint in her bearing had become natural to her, and the change was strangely reflected in her dancing. She went through the dance in which she had so excelled as a child, without the slightest deviation from the traditional motions, postures, and step-figures which she had always used—and yet the whole flavor of the dance was different. Instead of the wiry, electric little body whose stick-like arms bent in sharp angles, accenting the beat of the music, whose fingers quivered in the classical hand positions, whose little head sat stiffly on a rigid neck, whose feet stamped out with tense exactitude the vibrant music—instead of this stylized, puppet-like figure was a woman, with rounded arms, and hands of classical perfection, on her face a blank composure almost beautiful, who moved forward sedately, or glided sideways with easy grace, her curves softening the intended angles of the postures. This smooth performance of an accomplished dancer, now grown to maturity, had a beauty of its own. But it was not *lègong* dancing as it should be. Seeing it, one could not help agreeing with the Balinese, who say that only children can dance *lègong*. For the very grace and womanliness of a bigger girl infuse a disturbing element into the dance, which is in its essence sexless, impersonal, acute, and pure in its stylization.

Tjamploen still laughs, and makes jokes, and her eyes snap with merriment. But her rôle has changed from that of a talented child to that of an unwed maiden, whose behavior shows modesty and restraint, for those are the qualities which will attract a desirable husband.

Etiquette in Speech, Posture, and Manners

I have tried to give a suggestion of the strict order in the behavior of the Balinese people, and how this order is dictated by their

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he is able to wait for long periods without showing impatience, and to accept with composure frustration of his plans, saying simply, "It did not happen." It may be said that the agricultural way of life, requiring suitable physical exertion, and producing in a direct way the food supply, so that there may be no anxiety about it for anyone, contributes to the mental poise of the people; also that the children are surrounded with affection, and given very early a part in the work of the family group, so that they grow up feeling beloved and useful, which gives to them as individuals a sense of security. And because the rules for orientation, posture, facial expression, speech, and so forth are so universally accepted, they soon become habitual, and are carried out automatically by the people without any conscious application, without any of the strain which they would cause to us. The immutability of all the laws of conduct relieves the individual of any responsibility except that of obeying them. He does not doubt their rightness, since they have always been so. And since they are his habits, he does not have even to think of them. Beyond this, his only cares are specific misfortunes, which may always occur, but which he considers outside his power to control. Illness, flood, and famine, these are signs of the anger of the gods, and of the dominance, for the time, of the forces of evil. The religious concepts make the cause clear, and they supply, too, the remedy. Offerings must be prepared, purifications and celebrations carried out, for the propitiation of the demons and the glorification of the gods. Although it may seem to us that the Balinese lives in ever present fear of demons and of evil spirits, the strain is actually not great because the remedy is known and prescribed. Even in some cases charged with much superstitious fear, such as the birth of unlucky twins or the occurrence of certain forms of incest, when the entire village is rendered unclean, tradition takes care of the wrong by requiring temporary banishment of the offenders and elaborate purification rituals. In this way the burden of responsibility is lifted from the offenders and their fellow-villagers who are affected. Tradition tells them what to do in compensation for the wrong. When it is done, no weight of sin or guilt rests on the individual. He has in such matters, as in all other aspects of his life, no choice, no decisions to be made, only the responsibility to maintain the order which he and his society consider established and proved. To judge how suitable and how desirable is such an order,

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155 we can only take the evidence of Balinese behavior as it appears to
157 us. If we see in the equilibrated, delicately adjusted, and essentially
627 unstrained behavior of the people the clue to their happy temper, we
must conclude that a static traditional culture such as theirs, solving
121 all problems, prescribing every act, does form a desirable background
155 against which well-balanced personalities may be reared.